

Gandhi, Deep Ecology, Peace Research and Buddhist Economics*

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The central importance of Gandhi to nonviolent activism is widely acknowledged. There are also other significant peace-related bodies of knowledge that have gained such popularity in the West in the relatively recent past that they have changed the directions of thought and have been important in encouraging social movements – yet they have not been analysed in terms of antecedents, especially Gandhian ones. The new environmentalism in the form of deep ecology, the discipline of peace research and what has become known as ‘Buddhist economics’ very closely mirror Gandhi’s philosophy. This article analyses the Mahatma’s contribution to the intellectual development of three leading figures in these fields: Arne Naess, Johan Galtung and E. F. Schumacher and argues that those who want to make an informed study of deep ecology, peace research or Buddhist economics, and particularly those who are interested in the philosophy of Naess, Galtung or Schumacher, should go back to Gandhi for a fuller picture.

Gandhi as a Source of Influence

Gandhi has had a profound and celebrated influence on the nonviolence movement through Martin Luther King Jr, Cesar Chavez, Helder Camara, Thomas Merton, Danilo Dolci, Gene Sharp and many others. In this article, I examine Gandhi’s influence on three significant bodies of knowledge that have recently gained wide popularity in the West and which have also stimulated important social movements: deep ecology, peace research and what has become known as ‘Buddhist economics’, and particularly on the intellectual development of leading figures in these fields: Arne Naess, Johan Galtung and E. F. Schumacher.

Many environmental activists who claim that ‘deep ecology’ is their guiding philosophy have barely heard the name of Arne Naess, who coined the term. While Naess readily admits his debt to Gandhi, works about him tend to gloss over this connection or ignore it. For example, while a recent article on Naess’ environmental philosophy and the Gita (Jacobsen, 1996: 228–230) refers to the link, the chapter on deep ecology in Merchant’s book (1992: 88) which surveys ‘radical ecology’ contains a long list of its sources, including the debt owed to interpreters of Eastern philosophy such as Alan Watts, Daisetz Suzuki and Gary Snyder, without even mentioning Gandhi. The deep ecology of Naess not only talks of a personal identification with nature, but also of self-realization being dependent upon it. For those who know Gandhian philos-

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ophy well, this line of reasoning is readily recognized. However, Naess' writings on Gandhi are not particularly well known and Gandhi's influence on him has not received due recognition.

Peace research is a diverse field and Gandhi's influence has only touched certain areas of it. While he is generally not mentioned, and potential causal links are rarely investigated, the literature on conflict resolution is commonly quite 'Gandhian' in its approach. In much of the international relations, defence, security, ethnic conflict and related peace areas the possible relevance of Gandhian philosophy is not even an issue considered worthy of investigating. Although the connection between the two receives scant attention or is very much implicit (see Sørensen, 1992: 143–144, note 15), and a recent speech has called for the 'adding of Gandhi to Galtung' (Herman, 1994), the work of Johan Galtung, one of the leading academics in the peace research area, is centrally and obviously influenced by Gandhian philosophy. While Galtung makes several references to this influence on his thought in the introductory chapters to his *Essays in Peace Research* and elsewhere (e.g. Gage, 1995: 7), even Lawler (1995), the recent chronicler of Galtung's peace research, does little more than mention it in passing. For him Galtung seems to have moved from positivism to Buddhism, while according to Galtung himself 'it was Gandhi all the time'.¹

Unlike the works of Naess and Galtung, Schumacher's writings have made it onto popular bestseller lists. The Gandhian connection, at least at a superficial level, was originally also more explicit. However, Schumacher's 'small is beautiful' philosophy eventually came to be known as 'Buddhist economics' and gradually the links with Gandhi took a back seat. His concern for

Third-World poverty led to the formation of the Technology Group to develop tools and work methods which are appropriate to the people using them. While this practical work can only be lauded, its philosophical underpinning should also be remembered.

Arne Naess and Deep Ecology

Although a conservation ethic had been around for decades (Nash, 1989) before the publication of books such as Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) and studies such as *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972), Arne Naess took environmental philosophy into new areas with his call for a 'deep ecology'.

In 1973, Naess provided a summary of a lecture given the year before in Bucharest at the World Future Research Conference. That short article (Naess, 1973) was to take on paradigm-shifting proportions. It introduced us to a terminology that has since become commonplace.

Naess (1973: 95) points out that a shallow but influential ecological movement and a deep but less influential one compete for our attention. He characterizes the 'shallow' ecological movement as one that fights pollution and resource depletion in order to preserve human health and affluence, while the 'deep' ecological movement operates out of a deep-seated respect and even veneration for ways and forms of life, and accords them an 'equal right to live and blossom'.²

In a later elaboration, Naess puts the contrast between the two in its most stark form: shallow ecology sees that 'natural diversity is valuable as a resource for us'. He notes that 'it is nonsense to talk about value except as value for mankind', and adds that in this for-

¹ Personal communication, 30 January 1998.

² More recently, Naess has substituted the term 'same rights' for 'equal rights', explaining that this provides less opportunity for misinterpretation – after all, a parent has a duty to protect a child, for example from a poisonous insect, even if he or she risks killing the insect (personal communication, 27 January 1998).

mulation 'plant species should be saved because of their value as genetic reserves for human agriculture and medicine'. On the other hand, deep ecology sees that 'natural diversity has its own (intrinsic) value' and he notes that 'equating value with value for humans reveals a racial prejudice', and adds that 'plant species should be saved because of their intrinsic value' (Naess, 1984: 257).

During a camping trip in California, Arne Naess and George Sessions (1985: 69–70) jointly formulated a set of basic principles which they presented as a minimum description of the general features of the deep ecology movement: the 'well being and flourishing' of human and non-human life have intrinsic value;³ the richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are therefore also intrinsic values; humans have no right to reduce this richness or diversity except where it is necessary to satisfy vital needs; the flourishing of human life and culture is compatible with a large decrease in the human population, and a flourishing of non-human life requires it; human interference with nature is excessive and increasing; and, therefore, economic, technological and ideological policies must change. This ideological change will mean an appreciation of the quality of life rather than the standard of living; and those who subscribe to these points 'have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes'.

Naess loved nature and identified with it from early childhood. As a philosopher he researched and was influenced by Spinoza (Rothenberg, 1993: 91–101) who maintained a spiritual vision of the unity and sacredness of nature and believed that the highest level of knowledge was an intuitive

and mystical kind of knowing where subject/object distinctions disappeared as the mind united with the whole of nature. However, as important as those inputs were, the influence of Gandhi is also clearly visible in his formulation of deep ecology. In fact Naess himself admits in a brief third-person account of his philosophy that 'his work on the philosophy of ecology, or *ecosophy*, developed out of his work on Spinoza and Gandhi and his relationship with the mountains of Norway' (Devall & Sessions, 1985: 225).

Gandhi experimented with and wrote a great deal about simple living in harmony with the environment (Power, 1991) but he lived before the advent of the articulation of the deep ecological strands of environmental philosophy. His ideas about human connectedness with nature, therefore, rather than being explicit, must be inferred from an overall reading of the Mahatma's writings. Naess (1986: 11) explains that 'Gandhi made manifest the internal relation between self-realisation, non-violence and what sometimes has been called biospherical egalitarianism', and points out that he was 'inevitably' influenced by the Mahatma's metaphysics 'which contributed to keeping him (the Mahatma) going until his death'. Moreover, 'Gandhi's utopia is one of the few that shows ecological balance, and today his rejection of the Western World's material abundance and waste is accepted by progressives of the ecological movement' (Naess, 1974: 10).

While Gandhi allowed injured animals to be killed humanely to save them from unreasonable pain and at times even because they caused undue nuisance, his nonviolence encompassed a reverence for all life. In his hut at the Sevagram Ashram there is a large pair of wooden tongs which were used to pick up snakes so that they could be taken beyond the perimeter and released as an alternative to killing them.

³ Naess now prefers the following formulation: 'every living being has intrinsic value; the wellbeing and flourishing of human and nonhuman beings have intrinsic value' (personal communication, 27 January 1998).

A review of the Gandhian literature (while keeping in mind the time in which it was written as a reason for anthropocentric expression) readily reveals statements such as: 'If our sense of right and wrong had not become blunt, we would recognise that animals had rights, no less than men' (Hingorani, 1985: 10); 'I do believe that all God's creatures have the right to live as much as we have' (*Harijan*, 19 January 1937); and 'We should feel a more living bond between ourselves and the rest of the animate world' (Patel & Sykes, 1987: 50). The clearest indication of Gandhi's respect for nature, however, comes through his interpretation of the Hindu worship of the cow. Gandhi saw cow protection as one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution. 'It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow to me means the entire sub-human world. Man, through the cow, is enjoined to realise his identity with all that lives' (*Young India*, 6 October 1921).

Another way to illustrate Gandhi's concerns with the oneness of life is to look at his writings on *ahimsa*. Usually translated as nonviolence, it can be seen as the fountain-head of Truth – the ultimate goal of life. From his prison cell in 1930, Gandhi wrote to his ashramites that '*Ahimsa* and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to distangle and separate them. They are like two sides of a coin ...' (Gandhi, 1932: 6).

For Gandhi, *ahimsa* meant 'love' in the Pauline sense and was violated by 'holding on to what the world needs' (Gandhi, 1932: 5). As a Hindu, Gandhi had a strong sense of the unity of all life. For him, nonviolence meant not only the non-injury of human life, but as noted above, of all living things. This was important because it was the way to Truth (with a capital 'T') which he saw as Absolute – as God or an impersonal all-pervading reality – rather than truth (with a lowercase 't') which was relative, the current position on the way to Truth.

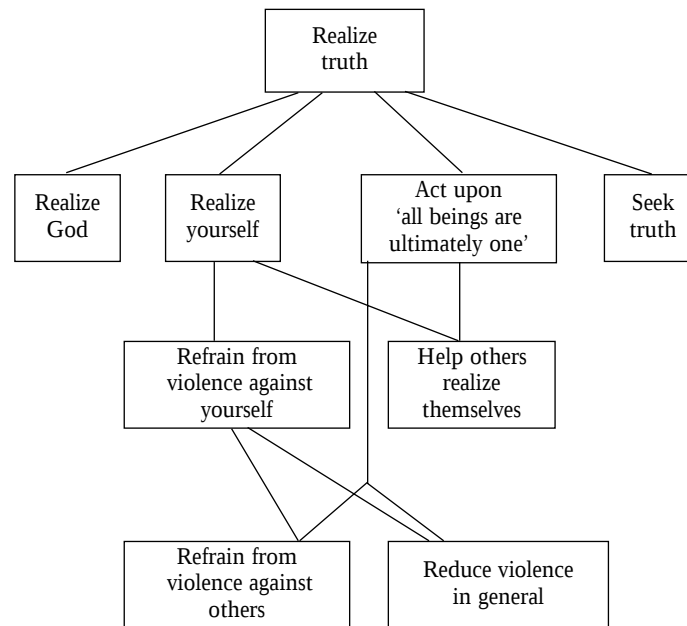
Naess had been an admirer of Gandhi since 1930 (Naess, 1986: 9). When he read Romain Rolland's Gandhi biography (Rolland, 1924) as a young philosophy student in Paris in 1931, he must often have come across Gandhi's statements on Truth and the essential oneness of all life. In some of his works, Naess notes that 'nature conservation is non-violent at its very core' and quotes Gandhi to this effect:

I believe in *advaita* (non-duality), I believe in the essential unity of man and, for that matter, of all that lives. Therefore I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him and, if one man fails, the whole world fails to that extent. (*Young India*, 4 December 1924)

As this implies, for Arne Naess deep ecology is not fundamentally about the value of nature per se, it is about who we are in the larger scheme of things. He notes the identification of the 'self' with 'Self' in terms that it is used in the *Bhagavad Gita* (that is, as the unity which is one) as the source of deep ecological attitudes. In other words, he links the tenets of his approach to ecology with what may be termed self-realization. And here the influence of the Mahatma is most clearly discernible. Naess notes (1986: 9) that while Gandhi may have been concerned about the political liberation of his homeland, 'the liberation of the individual human being was his supreme aim'.

The link between self-realization and Naess' environmental philosophy can be clearly seen in his discussion of the connection between nonviolence and self-realization in his analysis of the context of Gandhian political ethics. Starting with the 'one basic proposition of a normative kind' when investigating Gandhi's teachings on group conflict – 'Seek complete self-realisation' (the 'manifestation of one's potential to the greatest possible degree') – Naess summarizes this connection as:

Figure 1. Naess' Systematization of Gandhian Ethics



Source : Naess (1974: 55)

- (1) Self-realization presupposes a search for truth.
 - (2) In the last analysis, all living beings are one.
 - (3) *Himsa* (violence) against oneself makes complete self-realization impossible.
 - (4) *Himsa* against a living being is *himsa* against oneself.
 - (5) *Himsa* against a living being makes complete self-realization impossible.
- (adapted from Naess, 1965: 28–33)

This conceptual construction evolved into ever more complex and graphic presentations. In his 1974 work, Naess provides various systematizations of Gandhi's teachings on group struggle where self-realization is the top norm and which contain the critical hypothesis that all living beings are ultimately one, as set out in in Figure 1.

In a discussion with David Rothenberg over human destruction of the environment without adequate reason (for example,

where a parent kills the last animal of a species to save his or her child from its attack), Naess is asked whether protection of nature should occur because we should think not only of ourselves or because natural things are part of us also. Naess refuses to separate the two approaches. He answers with another allusion to Gandhi: 'When he was asked, "How do you do these altruistic things all year long?" he said, "I am not doing something altruistic at all. I am trying to improve in Self-realisation"' (Rothenberg, 1993: 141–142). There need be no divide between the intrinsically valuable and the useful. And, in a Gandhian way of feeling rather than intellectualizing, he adds: 'if you hear a phrase like, "All life is fundamentally one", you should be open to *tasting* this, before asking immediately, "What does this mean?"' (Rothenberg, 1993: 151).

Along with other deep ecological theorists,

Naess is attempting to clarify what the deep ecology movement stands for. Ecological philosophies are continually expanding, and other writers have also added their analytical skills to the deep ecology literature (see, for example, Devall & Sessions, 1985). Recently, we have seen the rise of eco-feminism, Lovelock's Gaia hypothesis and aggressively radical movements and philosophies such as Earth First! While Gandhi certainly would not have welcomed some of these later developments (for example, the employment of 'ecotage' techniques such as tree-spiking and the disabling of logging equipment), and Naess does not, the Mahatma's influence is clearly discernible through the writings of Arne Naess.

Johan Galtung and Peace Research

After the mass slaughter of World War II and fear of nuclear Armageddon in the late 1950s, the budding discipline of peace research concentrated on the elimination of international armed conflict. Researchers, led by those in the USA, attempted to understand war in terms of perceptions that international actors were pursuing incompatible goals and that tried to find ways to prevent misconceptions (Pardesi, 1982: 4). Peace was interpreted as an absence of war and the discipline of peace research left other social problems to different disciplines.

In some religious traditions, 'peace' is understood in the affirmative as wholeness, rather than negatively as the absence of war. Thus, threats to peace may come not from those who stir up conflict, but from those who acquiesce in the existing state of affairs (Macquarrie, 1973: 30). If peace is so construed, wholeness and fulfilment must be opened up for all, and all must have a share in power, which is an essential ingredient in a fully human existence (Macquarrie, 1973: 33, 38).

This line of thinking is echoed in the peace research of Johan Galtung, which outlined a broader notion of peace than the

negative definitions previously favoured by the American school:

Peace research should liberate itself from a materialistic bias dealing with bodies, dead or alive, healthy or unhealthy – in other words with mortality and morbidity only, and not with the *mental and spiritual dimensions of violence and human growth and development* (Galtung, 1985: 156).

Primarily as a response to the work of Galtung (1969, 1971b), the central concern of peace research for many researchers moved from direct violence and its elimination or reduction (negative peace) to the broader agenda of structural violence and its elimination (positive peace). This increasingly popular school of peace research (see for example Barash, 1991: 7–11) places great emphasis on the elimination of exploitation and oppression.

'Structural violence' is unintended structure-generated (rather than actor-generated) harm done to human beings. It is an indirect form of violence built into social, political and economic structures that gives rise to unequal power and consequently unequal life chances. It includes exploitation, alienation, marginalization, poverty, deprivation, misery etc. and exists when basic needs for security, freedom, welfare and identity are not being met (see Galtung, 1969). In its horizontal version, violent structures keep apart people who want to be together, and keep together people who want to be apart (Galtung, 1996: 67). 'Violence can be defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is' (Galtung, 1969: 169). In other words, and to put it into terms that Naess would approve of, this conception of violence is based 'on a distinction between the potential and actual level of self-realization of human beings, particularly on the "avoidable causes of a differential between the two"' (Galtung, 1975: 24).

Extreme structural violence can lead to death by denying even the most basic needs such as food and shelter. So negative peace can be insufficient to protect human life. Positive peace encompasses an absence of structural as well as direct violence. It means not only ending wars, but also freedom from want, the attainment of justice, the protection of human rights and an absence of exploitation (Galtung, 1985: 145).

Even earlier, Galtung (1959) had been edging towards this distinction, yet it was not made explicit until his 1969 paper. This article was written on the roof of the Gandhian Institute of Studies at Rajghat in Varanasi. In explaining its origins, Galtung points to his desire to link the theories of peace, conflict and development; the emerging distinction between actor-oriented and structure-oriented social cosmologies, and 'the exposure to Gandhian thinking' (Galtung, 1975: 22).

Development for the poor is frequently championed in order to prevent violence, whereas for Galtung inequalities 'were in and by themselves violence ... unnecessary evils in their own right' (Galtung, 1975: 23–24). For him, Gandhi was the only author or politician who 'clearly fought against both the sudden, deliberate direct violence engaged in by actors, and the continuous, not necessarily intended, violence built into the social structures' (Galtung, 1975: 24). While some used structural violence to prevent direct violence (in the law and order tradition), some used direct violence to abolish structural violence (in the revolutionary tradition), and still others condoned one or the other while attempting to alleviate the plight of the victims (in the Christian *caritas* tradition), Gandhi 'was equally opposed to all three'. But in fact 'Gandhi's general pattern of action is more tailor-made for structural conflict' (Galtung, 1982: 225).

This work set the future agenda for a peace research concerned with more than international relations. For those who have

followed Galtung's intellectual career, the influence of Gandhi is evident.⁴ In a sense, Gandhi was Galtung's entree into the world of peace research. He has acknowledged that as a seventeen-year-old he 'cried bitterly' when he heard the news of the Mahatma's assassination (Galtung, 1992: v). One of his first jobs was as an assistant to Naess, a collaboration which eventually resulted in a book on Gandhi's political ethics (Galtung & Naess, 1955). Much of Galtung's contribution to that book was written in prison where he was serving time as a conscientious objector against military service.

The project with Naess, Galtung commented later, 'was also the way I got started on peace research' (Galtung, 1992: vii). Since that time, his writings have contained many references to the Mahatma.⁵ In describing important sources of inspiration, Galtung has noted that Gandhi is 'the major one ... and increasingly Buddhism in general' (Galtung, 1990b: 280).

Gandhi's wide conception of nonviolence included not treating another with less dignity than was warranted by a shared humanity. Dehumanization is violence, as Gandhi made clear when he spoke of exploitation in economic terms. He pointed out that someone who claims as his or her own 'more than the minimum that is really necessary for him is guilty of theft' (Gandhi, 1955: 58).

I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world (Gandhi, 1933: 384)

⁴ Twenty years after his formulation of the concept of 'structural violence', Galtung was to introduce a new term to peace research: 'cultural violence' ('any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form'). Again it is closely linked to Gandhian doctrines of the unity of life and the unity of means and ends (Galtung, 1990a).

⁵ In recognition of this, Johan Galtung was awarded the Jarnalal Bajaj International Prize in 1993 for the promotion of Gandhian values outside India.

Gandhi was willing to push this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion. If our aid programs are not sufficient to reduce our theft then our neighbours must be invited 'to come and to share our resources, and live as we have been trying to do. If there is not enough to go around, we must all tighten our belts, but yet not exclude anyone who is really in want' (*Harijan*, 13 April 1940).

During his 1969 reading of Gandhi, Galtung defined him as a 'structuralist' in the sense that he saw:

conflict in the deeper sense as something that was built into social structures, not into the persons ... Colonialism was a structure and caste was a structure; both of them filled with persons performing their duties according to their roles or statuses ... The evil was in the structure, not in the person who carried out his obligations ... Exploitation is violence, but it is quite clear that Gandhi sees it as a structural relation more than as the intended evil inflicted upon innocent victims by evil men'. (Galtung, 1971a: 124, 133–134)

Unfortunately, the incisive fifty-page paper on Gandhi entitled 'Gandhi and Conflictology' (Galtung, 1971a), which grew out of this and a later visit to India, was not published at the time. Not until twenty years later did a reworked version appear in print (Galtung, 1992). Much of Galtung's central writings on peace research can be linked to Gandhi through this source.

E. F. Schumacher and 'Buddhist' Economics

Some editions of Schumacher's landmark book, *Small is Beautiful*, had a picture of the Mahatma on the cover, and for many in the West it provided an introduction to the economic ideas of Gandhi. As important as its popular appeal was, that book also introduced Gandhian ideas to economists and allowed these ideas to become the focus of serious study. It also earned the author the

title of 'later-day [sic] Gandhi' (Hoda, 1978: 2).

According to his daughter, Schumacher admired Gandhi and was greatly shocked when he learned of his assassination. In the mid-1950s Schumacher began a study of Eastern thought, including the writings and speeches of Gandhi, noting that the Mahatma's view of economic development was quite different from that of the mainstream and required careful examination (Wood, 1984: 243). The various strands crystallized during a trip to Burma as an economic adviser in 1955, when he realized that Western economic philosophy could not merely be transferred to Burma because it would merely lead to a transfer of Western demands (Hoda, 1978: 5–6). What was needed was, in his terms, a 'Buddhist economics' (Wood, 1984: 246).

Schumacher realized that economics did not stand alone. As with other disciplines, it derived from a view of the meaning and purpose of life – in this case a purely materialistic one. Gandhi's economic thinking, on the other hand, was based on a spiritual criterion. Schumacher took Gandhi's ideas of *swadeshi* (local production) and *khadi* (hand-spun, hand-woven cloth) and applied them to modern economic problems (Wood, 1984: 247).

Gandhi claimed that

True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard just as all true ethics, to be worth its name, must at the same time be also good economics ... True economics stands for social justice; it promotes the good of all equally, including the weakest and is indispensable for decent life' (*Harijan*, 9 October 1937); and that he had to confess that he did not 'draw a sharp line or make any distinction between economics and ethics' (*Young India*, 13 October 1921).

Gandhi's notion of revitalizing village India through the spinning wheel struck many as anachronistic, but the logic of his arguments took on greater force after his death.

Gandhi's economic ideals were not about the destruction of all machinery, but a regulation of their excesses. *Khadi* requires decentralization of production and consumption, which in turn should take place as near as possible to the source of production. Such localization would do away with the temptation to speed up production regardless of the costs and would alleviate the problems of an inappropriately structured economic system.

In his economics of locally handmade goods, the Mahatma saw the poor as being delivered from the 'bonds of the rich' (*Young India*, 17 March 1927). His approach 'wholly concerns itself with the human', while ordinary economics 'is frankly selfish' (*Young India*, 16 July 1931).

Gandhi's ideas on *swadeshi* were summed up during his first major struggle in India and repeated almost verbatim throughout the next 30 years:

Swadeshi is that spirit in us which requires us to serve our immediate neighbours before others, and to use things produced in our neighbourhood in preference to those more remote. So doing, we serve humanity to the best of our capacity. We cannot serve humanity by neglecting our neighbours. (*Young India*, 20 August 1919)

In a similar vein, following the Burma trip, Schumacher gives an example of contrasting views on freight rates between the thinking of an economic expert and an economist in the Gandhian tradition or, as he later termed it, a 'Buddhist economist' (Schumacher, 1974: 49). A traditional economist:

may be inclined to advise that the rates per ton/mile should 'taper-off', so that they are the lower the longer the haul. He may suggest that this is simply the 'right' system, because it encourages long distance transport, promotes large scale, specialised production, and thus leads to an 'optimum use of resources'.

The latter would argue the opposite:

Local, short-distance transportation should

receive every encouragement but long hauls should be discouraged because they would promote urbanisation, specialisation beyond the point of human integrity, the growth of a rootless proletariat, – in short, a most undesirable and uneconomic way of life. (Wood, 1984: 247)

Later, Schumacher was to explore the link between economics and war in the light of Gandhi's thinking and came to the conclusion that what was needed was a 'non-violent economics' (Wood, 1984: 292). In 1960, he published what was to become his manifesto:

A way of life that ever more rapidly depletes the power of earth to sustain it and piles up ever more insoluble problems for each succeeding generation can only be called 'violent' ... In short, man's urgent task is to discover a non-violent way in his economics as well as in his political life ... Non-violence must permeate the whole of man's activities, if mankind is to be secure against a war of annihilation ... Present day economics, while claiming to be ethically neutral, in fact propagates a philosophy of unlimited expansionism without any regard to the true and genuine needs of man which are limited. (Schumacher, 1960)

Only months later, through his friendship with leading Gandhian Jayaprakash Narayan, Schumacher paid a short visit to India, and the crushed spirit of the country which he saw led him on a further quest. Following Gandhi, Schumacher saw the distinction between 'production by the masses' and 'mass production'. The former provides dignity, meaningful contact with others and is appropriate in a country with a huge population, while the latter is violent, ecologically damaging, self-destructive in its consumption of non-renewable resources and dehumanizing for the individuals involved (Schumacher, 1974: 128). Following a longer trip among the Gandhians in 1962, he saw that the key to solving the dilemma of implementing Gandhi's dream was the development of a

level of technology which would be appropriate to the needs and resources of the poor with tools and equipment designed to be small, simple, low-cost, environmentally friendly (Schumacher, 1979, ch. 2), and 'compatible with man's need for creativity' (Schumacher, 1974: 27).

Several decades before, Gandhi had explained that while he was not against machinery per se, he did object to the 'craze for machinery':

The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. (*Young India*, 13 November 1924)

This leads to what he termed 'parasitism':

Man is made to obey the machine. The wealthy and middle classes become helpless and parasitic upon the working classes. And the latter become so specialized that they also become helpless. The ordinary city-dweller cannot make his own clothing or produce or prepare his own food. The cities become parasitic upon the country. Industrial nations upon agricultural nations. (*Young India*, 15 April 1926)

Schumacher's book (1974) echoed this message, claiming that we are moving ever more rapidly into a world dominated by the large-scale; complexity; high capital intensity which eliminates the human factor; and violence. In order to ensure survival, he recommended new guidelines which point towards smallness rather than giantism, simplification rather than complexity, capital saving rather than labour saving – and towards nonviolence (Schumacher, 1978: 25). The profit motive throws humanity and the planet out of equilibrium. The emphasis has to be shifted back to the person rather

than the product. Costs have to be measured in human terms by taking cognizance of happiness, beauty, health and the protection of the planet.

In a Gandhi Memorial Lecture at the Gandhian Institute of Studies at Varanasi in 1973, Schumacher noted that the affluence of a small part of the world was pushing the whole world into the three concurrent crises concerning resources, ecology and alienation (Schumacher, 1978: 14). He explained that the modern world finds itself in trouble and that this would not have come as a surprise to Gandhi (Schumacher, 1978: 16). Voicing his debt to the economic thought of the Mahatma, Schumacher noted that Gandhi enunciated his economic position in the language of the people, rather than that of academic economists: 'And so the economists never noticed that he was, in fact, a very great economist in his own right, and ... it may well emerge ... [as] the greatest of them all' (Schumacher, 1978: 18).

Gandhi's admission that he had not made a study of the great economic thinkers did not concern Schumacher, who himself had turned his back on traditional orthodoxy. Gandhi's ultimate goal of self-realization naturally carried over into his economic thinking. It meant more than identification with the mere personal ego, it required a merging with a greater Self. This could not come about through exploitation, but demanded social justice and the good of all. For Gandhi, economics was an economics of nonviolence. Towards the end of his life he wrote:

I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much for you, apply the following test. Recall the face of the poorest and weakest man whom you have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj [self-rule] for the hungry and spiritually starving

millions? Then you will find your doubt and your self melting away. (Tendulkar, 1963, 288–289)

In 1962, the Gandhians were already embracing Schumacher's vision and he was acclaimed as 'the man who could interpret Gandhi to the Indians' (Wood, 1984: 322). The concept of intermediate technology, following initial criticisms by the economic community, was eventually taken up by UN agencies, governments and nongovernmental organizations around the world and led to a proliferation of studies in Gandhian economics (cf. Diwan & Lutz, 1985).

Just before his death, Schumacher outlined his personal philosophy of the meaning of human life, talking of the transformation of the inner self through 'inner work' in ways reminiscent of Gandhi and Naess (Schumacher, 1977a; cf. also Schumacher, 1975: 104–106). In a film (1977b) and in language which could have come straight from the Mahatma, Schumacher explained that the 'religion' of economics is the enemy of all the things that really matter – beauty, sympathy and harmony; it is, in fact, uneconomical because it produces waste. In this 'religion' the only thing considered worthy of economizing is human labour – paradoxically the very thing that is free and of which there is plenty. Schumacher emphasized that we are part of the environment, that if we win the fight against nature we will find ourselves on the losing side. Finally, he emphasized that if we do not develop an economics of permanence then we are too 'clever' to survive, that we can be classified as a species in danger of extinction (cf. Schumacher, 1975: 101) – again sentiments familiar to anyone who is versed in Gandhi's economic writings.

Conclusion

There is certainly no shortage of writings on Gandhi or Gandhian philosophy. However,

attention to his influence on, or relevance to, fields of knowledge or praxis other than non-violent activism has been scant. There is, of course, a risk perhaps of peddling a conspiracy theory of sorts, one that sees the Mahatma lurking under every bed. Nevertheless, to those who want to make a study of deep ecology, peace research or Buddhist economics, and more particularly who are interested in the philosophy of Naess, Galtung or Schumacher, a recommendation to go back to Gandhi for a fuller picture is not out of place.

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